/12 cont./

In this way the replacement is gradual without organic or other complications for the child. c) When breast feeding is kept on overlong and the child is already eating normally and assimilating adult food, the breast is then simply a diversion that is, at times, voluntarily abandoned by the child. In this category may be included the younger children, or sharé, who considerably prolong the period of breast feeding. d) Very exceptionally it may happen that the mother gets annoyed with her child for biting her nipple and as punishment takes it away, but this punishment occurs only when the child is big, as logically, when the child is small, he cannot so bite.

When the mother is not able to travel, in order to deprive the child she wants to wean, or when it will not take a refusal, she rubs her nipple with the sour juice of a plant called wawá and offers her breast to the child, who /13/ on tasting it cries and rejects it. This practice is repeated several times until the child refuses to respond when the breast is offered. This step is taken when the child is two or three years old and it is considered shameful to continue breast feeding so long, or when the child is small and special circumstances oblige the mother to act in this way.

When the child starts to take other food as a substitute for his mother's milk, she feeds him liquids from a vessel made from a gourd /totuma/ (1) which she holds, at the same time

1. At present, some use nursing bottles.

training him to hold it also so that he can learn to feed himself; she gives him soup from a spoon, and she puts solid food into his hand. When he is very small she gives him lukewarm food, but later she gives it to him at the temperature it comes from the hearth, warning him to be careful. At two years the child is self-sufficient in these matters.

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/169 cont./

an Indian. He ate maima and wore a Guajiro robe. His mother was an old woman. There she had her home. The father was one Saramai who, it is also said, was a god. As Mareiwa was born under an olive tree, the tree never loses its green leaves during any summer. And when there is a storm the Indians take shelter beneath its branches because lightning cannot penetrate there.

"Mareiwa ordered that there should be an Indian girl whom they called Boronka who was the mother of all the Guajiro Indians. Mareiwa gave her a husband by whom she became pregnant, but when the time of her delivery arrived she was not able to give birth. She had already suffered three days of labor pains without birth taking place. The cause was that her genital organ had teeth. Mareiwa extracted them, and later he took from the husband two ribs, the lower ones from each side of his body, to place in Boronka so that she could give birth to children without difficulty, though not without pain.

"Since there is always some loss of blood when there is a childbirth, Mareiwa called together all the little birds: the one called Sangre de Toro /Bull's Blood/ or pinewait he ordered to go and bathe at the spot where the birth had taken place. Also /he called/ the troupial, the ioó with black wings and a red breast and crest, and the macaws. The woodpecker arrived late at the bath. Mareiwa said to him: 'You came late but I will anoint your crest,' and he painted it. For this reason, all these birds have red patches.

"Boronka had several children, and thus the Guajiro went on multiplying. When they became numerous, Mareiwa returned and distributed among them seeds of watermelon, corn, and melon, all of which the Guajiro eat to this day. Until this /170/ time the Guajiro had not sown seed, but had collected only the wild fruits of the forest. Mareiwa brought together all the troupials and woodpeckers /pacalaegan/. A flock of these he sent far away, very far away, and there they

/224 cont./

of the date work will begin and asks for their co-operation. Meanwhile at his house abundant food is prepared for the occasion and drink in considerable quantity: chicha made from chewed wild yucca or from corn. And each Indian who decides to lend a hand brings the tools required for the job and arrives at sunrise. At night he returns to his dwelling after working all day, generally drunk from the great quantity of chicha or rum which he has drunk. This cycle repeats itself daily during all the time necessary to finish the work. The owner of the house, or one of the volunteers of most experience, assumes direction of all the activities and gives orders which are quickly carried out. We will take as an example the case of the construction of a dwelling. For this, necessary plant materials are located beforehand in the woods of the clan property or in wasteland, and the services of an individual acquainted with the method of housebuilding is also secured beforehand and the work carried out under his direction. The according to the ability of each of the workers, tasks are distributed; some prepare yotojoro (1), which is the roofing material; some

1. The woody part of the cactus called cardón.

lay the roof while others cover the walls with the bark of the trupillo /Mimosaceae family/, with grass stems, or with bahareque /small sticks with canes and clay, sometimes also called bareque/, according to the region or taste /of the owner/. In this way /225/ the work is finished in a short time. By the same procedure the excavation of a well or the building of a dam for rain water is carried out.

When it is a matter of preparing ground for sowing or any other agricultural work, the activity is carried out in an identical manner. Some go to give their services to a friend so that once they have finished work on his agricultural land, the friend will immediately reciprocate by lending his assistance on their land. The Guajiro keeps very much in mind the person who refuses to

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[19 cont.]
invocations of the spirits and in the metamorphosis of the shaman." (16) [Cited in French.] The shaman moves his torso in gyra-

16. Ibid., I, 218.

tion. When he is in trance and effecting a cure which requires the invocation of the spirit, no noise must be made as this will cause the spirit to become frightened and to flee; and being left without his protector spirit, the shaman will suffer violent fits and fall to the ground in severe convulsions. The shaman [826] always carries a piece of manilla in these cases; he chews it and becomes intoxicated with the juice, which induces him to sing with greater verve. The juice of the manilla also serves to spray [824] the body of the patient as well as the walls and all around the house to frighten away the malignant spirit. This custom of the magic use of tobacco is also very common in America; not to overexpand the subject we limit ourselves to giving a simple example cited by Pauly with reference to the Araona Indians of Bolivia: "They use tobacco dust mixed with coca to cure their sick and ward off the evil spirits, chewing it and spitting the juice on the body of the sick person. They also spit it at the heavens to calm the storms and at the river when it is in flood." (17)

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17. Pauly, Antonio. Ensayo de Etnografía Americana. Viajes y Exploraciones [Essay on American Ethnology. Voyages and Explorations], VI, 128.

755 The treatment really begins with a chant of invocation to the spirits. While the ceremony is performed the shaman continually chews tobacco and he rubs the juice formed by the saliva and the juice of the plant over the body of the patient; and immediately after this, he energetically sucks several consecutive times at the affected parts of the body of the sick man to draw [753] out [20] the malignancy. (The sickness that the native has, no matter what may be its special characteristics or from whence it may have arisen, is derived from the malevolent action of the

[69 cont.]
of self-defense. If we take into account the high infant mortality among the Guajiro population, which reaches a very high rate (22. 97%) according to the data collected by the investigators Virginia de Pineda Giraldo and María Rosa de Recasens, whose findings were published in the Boletín de Arqueología (47), we

47. Pineda Giraldo Roberto. "Informe preliminar sobre aspectos sociales y económicos de la Guajira [Preliminary Report on Social and Economic Aspects of La Guajira]."

can even better explain the series of prohibitions, of patterns established to protect the future mothers and unborn children from the malevolent influence of the spirits, whether of humans, animals, etc.

On the other hand, we can deduce from this study the following points: 1) Medicine practiced by shamans, intermediaries between the two worlds, is carried out almost exclusively on adults, for whom they prescribe the curative methods they deem essential in accord with the patient's illness. 2) On the other hand, curing by [70] divination, which we have called household curing, using a common term, has its field of action among newborn babies and mothers-to-be. 3) In this last type we encounter an extremely interesting fact, the ambivalence of certain animals, represented by their double capacity to cause illness and at the same time to cure it. 4) In the application of household preventative medicine, magic called sympathetic is frequently practiced. 5) In one of the accounts we find the occurrence of the magic action of a plant. This deals with the plant used to make the mammary glands secrete their milk after a mother had lost it and the child still requires to be breast fed. As the plant is able to produce milk, the mother by contact with it will inevitably be able to do the same, according to native belief. This aspect has been fully treated by Castiglione in one of the chapters of his work Encantamiento y Magia [Enchantment and Magic]. We wish to quote only a few paragraphs which will better clarify

[85 cont.]

766 head downward, and then they cover it with a piece of another clay olla, new, usually with a base. The urn is buried in the [524] woods at the foot of a special tree called in Goajiro hurruwi ("within us," etymologically), with the idea that the other children that are born will not continue dying. No special ceremony accompanies the burial of the child, which must be carried out by the maternal uncle, since neither the father nor the mother may be present because it is believed that if they should be all their other children would also die as they were born.

765 766 When the first-born dies, and the work of its burial has been complied with, the mother is put through the following procedure: She is hung in a hammock for three days in a closed room (it is really a small house made especially for the purpose). After three days have passed, she is unhung from the hammock, but she has to continue in seclusion for a further five [534] months (five lunar months), and the husband is prohibited from visiting her, with the idea of avoiding sexual contact. After this seclusion the husband may return, and they resume normal married life. During the time she is in the hammock, the [542] woman is not allowed to receive any food except a medicine called hawapi, which serves for fattening. This medicine is a [228] mixture of scraped roots dissolved in cold water [86] and is drunk after being strained. The wife receives this medicine from her mother, who acts as her nurse.

In other words, the mother, by reason of the death of her [551] first-born, has to repeat the complete cycle of seclusion as at the initiation of young women when they reach puberty. The ceremonial is the same, seclusion, taking of fattening medicine, sexual exclusion of the man, and in general all contact or relations with him, etc.

764 If in spite of these precautions the next child should also die, the previous cycle is not followed, but the baby is buried with all due ceremony. A fiesta is arranged for the burial, a wake is held with the usual distribution of liquor, and animals which the maternal and paternal grandparents supply are sacrificed. The mother undergoes a new special treatment but without those of seclusion.

[97 cont.]
which we have referred on various occasions in this work.

Hunting charms. We could only acquire data about the type of talisman connected with the hunting of deer and rabbits. The object of such a talisman is a double one: on one hand, it inculcates ability and quickness on the part of the hunter who possesses it; and on the other, it exercises a restraining action on the animal he wishes to kill, so [98] according to the native belief, it stops its flight and converts it into an easy prey for the hunter.

The charm for facilitating the hunting of rabbits is made with bejuco leaves, a plant known in La Guajira by the name of *ligana-yi* (*ligana* = "rabbit"). The leaves of this plant, which are used for making the charm, are long and shaped like a cartridge, which gives them a great likeness to rabbit ears. Besides this, it serves as food for rabbits, which they like a great deal.

To make the charm, the hunter carefully collects the leaves, grinds them up, and with the resulting powder makes small pellets resembling rabbit excrement. One of these small balls is carefully tied with a thread and is placed in the middle of the tassel which adorns the hand guard they use when drawing the bow. The effect of the charm is directed against the rabbit, limiting its chance of flight and thus making it easier for the hunter to secure his prey.

The charm used in hunting deer is also made from a plant well known to the hunters. This plant, in form like the bejuco, has wide leaves which shine like a mirror. It abounds in the forest and requires no special cultivation. In La Guajira it is called *epalua-uni* (*ta* = center; *paa* = "leaf," "liver"; *uni* = "tree," "palo"; *wuni* = "remedy"). It is prepared in a similar way to that for hunting the rabbit and, as in that case, it is carried on the person of the hunter in the shape of small pellets which are tied to the hand guard of his bow. Once finished it takes the name of *sipi-infma*, (*infma* = "deer"), and its object is to make the hunting of the deer easier by attracting it toward the hunter, who thus cannot fail in his shot. It also prevents the animal's flight, thus making it, as in the case of the rabbit, an easy prey.

751 [101 cont.]
823 breaks, thus counteracting the evil. In other words, the magic
825 action of the eyes is deviated toward the jet, which directly re-
754 ceives the effect, so liberating its owner from it.

For the same purpose they also use a mineral called salta piedra ["jumping stone"], which is hung by a string from children's wrists. It is yellow and shining.

Pieces of coral, which the women use in their necklaces, [773] bracelets, and anklets as ornaments and bringers of happiness, health, and good fortune, are suspended from children's wrists to forestall the evil eye and some other sicknesses. The mestizos who live in La Guajira wear it attached to their waists by means of a cord.

751 It is also very common to find, as a preventative of this
754 evil, "ojeye" seeds hung by a small cotton string from some
●824 part of the body.

Also coconut shell in the shape of a little hand is frequently seen, a shape which is probably more effective made in jet.

754 The evil eye, according to native belief, is exercised by certain people who have a special power in their eyes which causes sickness in those they look at if these are weak, such as children and sick persons, but this harmful action is involuntary in the majority of cases, though some do knowingly use their power and put it into practice with the manifest intention of causing evil. The effects of these "eyes" also extends to plants and animals.

The sickness shows itself in the form of stomach troubles, diarrhea, vomiting, fever, and by general eruptions on the skin. Animals also sicken and die, and plants cease to develop naturally and in the end dry up.

751 Method of warding off the wanurú. Near native habita-
825 tions the owners place horses' skulls, which they say serve to drive off sickness both in children and adults, as they have the effect of frightening away the wanurú. We believe that this attitude is closely allied to another native belief which convinces them that the neighing of horses frightens the spirits that [484] wander on the roads at night. For this reason, when the Indians travel at night, as we saw personally, the horsemen always [102]

[104 cont.]

226 751 Never again during our visit did we come across this type of magic object, which leads us to believe that it does not belong to the Guajiro cultural whole, but that it is due rather to the influence of the mulattoes of the coast who, as is well known, are extremely superstitious. [177 184]

Charms used to call spirits. The use of these charms, to which we have referred on other occasions, is limited to shamans. They use them to facilitate the arrival of their protector spirits when they are in a curing trance or are carrying out any of the functions related to their status. Up to the present we have not arrived at a satisfactory explanation of their influence on the spirits, but we might now bring together the few data we do have. One of the female shamans who served us as informant and who came from the Sierra [de] Jarara possessed charms to attract her spirits. She explained to us that as those spirits are assistants, some to young shamans, some to old ones, the charms to facilitate the arrival of their spirits are also of two classes: for young shamans and the other for old ones. [1756] [778] [774]

The charm is made from the leaf of a plant called in Guajiro morõno, which is found in abundance on Itojoro Hill. A woman expert in such articles makes them there [105] by grinding the leaves of the plant to a paste and shaping this into a rounded form which she keeps in a small bag of red thread. The larger ones are reserved for the older shamans, and the others, combined with some of the former, are for the younger. [824]

778 788 The guará or guale. The guará or guale, difficult to find at present, is a kind of idol made from solid gold or silver and of which only a few examples exist as they are no longer made. This small idol is an anthropomorphic representation in fetal position, and it does not seem to be an autochthonous product of the Guajiro as they themselves assert that these idols come from their distant ancestors, by which they mean the Arhuaco of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. [305] [532] [173]

This fetish is known sometimes by the name Mareiwa, a divinity or spirit similar to the idea of God but which appears to be nothing else than the spirit of Rain, as we shall see further ahead (cf. "Mareiwa and Wanurú").

[158 cont.]

262 meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

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754 c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very
789 marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him
182 bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and
787 allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which
789 he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

184 achiote (Bixa orellana)
192 ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
824 artemisia (f. Synanthereae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogani of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

[158 cont.]

104 divi-divi (Libidibia coriaria. Jacq.) [158]
192 frailejon (Espeletia spp.)
824 guamacho (Pereskia colombiana. Webb).
guayacan (f. Zigophyllaceae) [In Venezuela, Tabebuia guayacan (family Bignoniaceae)]
plantain (f. Plantaginaceae, sp. Ureu)
ortuegue (Polygonaceae, g. Rumex)
mamoncillo (f. Sapindaceae, sp. Bijoga)
mangrove tree (f. Rhizophoraceae)
orreye (f. Papilionaceae)
nettle (f. Urticaceae)
watermelon (Cucurbita vulgaris)
quina dulce [sweet quina] (Cinchona spp.)
sage (fam. Labiataceae) [Labiatae?]
elder or alder tree (f. Caprifoliaceae)
purslane (f. Portulacaceae, g. Portulaca)
vira-vira (f. Compositae, g. Gnaphalium)
yucca, cassava (Manihot utilissima)

Animals:
104 bee (order Hymenoptera)
192 bittern (Botaurpterus cayennensis)
825 wasp (order Hymenopt)
owl (Bubo virginianus elatus)
casquero (sp. of deer)
colibri (fam. Trochulidae)
rabbit (sylvilagus apollinaris)
rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus)
hunting snake [culebra cazadora] (Clelia clelia)
buzzard (Coragyps atratus foetens)
cattle tick (g. Boophilus)
sparrow hawk (harpagus bidentatus)
iguana (order of the saurians)
owl (Tyto alba subandeana)
macheeto, sp. of lizard (order of the saurians)
bat (Carollia perspicillata)

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

been confirmed by sooth-sayer and piache. The person selected must learn the profession and practise it. Otherwise, certain death awaits him, for the spirit will not suffer his decisions to be neglected.

Often parents cannot afford to send for a piache, for those who convey the request have to give him a necklace of gold beads. This may mean that the novice's family has to ask well-to-do relatives to pay the fee. When he arrives, the piache examines the candidate and stuffs some manilla into his or her mouth. When he sees that it is beginning to take effect, he intones a monotonous song. As soon as he stops, the novice must proclaim his desire to become a piache and have it granted. He is selected by the spirit, but he does not yet know anything. The apprenticeship then begins.

The piache shuts himself into a suitable hut together with the novice, and there they must stay, hidden from the world, for a month or more. The apprentice is not supposed to be seen by anyone during this time. No one may go in and interrupt the seance. The piache sits on his stool of light wood shaped like an animal. He wears a head-dress made of wool and places a similar one on the novice's head. He then begins singing songs, swinging rattles and making all the gestures, movements and conjurations that he uses to call upon and move the spirits. His instruction continues day after day, sometimes by night as well. He has to keep to a certain diet. Roast maize in particular is usually prescribed. Now and again spirits appear and talk with the novice, encouraging him, not least by expounding how great are the advantages of being a piache, and how rich the presents he receives.

One day the spirit announces that the first period of instruction is over and the novice ready for examination. This is an intermediary examination, for the instruction is not complete. So far it has only included spells and magical songs, and the novice has no knowledge of herbs and poisons. (Knowledge of medicinal herbs is common to all by family tradition.) The songs, gestures and spells have been repeated till the novice knows them all perfectly.

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
SC13 Goajiro SC13

him and found that he could not make rain at all, but was an impostor, so he was driven away with blows and was glad to escape with his life.

Even in the days when the reputation of the piache stood high, the Guajiro would not infrequently seek the help of the famous medicine men of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the so-called *wamás*, in whom many Creoles believed. A Guajiro who could manage to do so would take a sick person there or an article of clothing or some ornament that the invalid had worn. The medicine men of the mountain Indians would use this to diagnose the disease, and the messenger would return with a herbal medicine. The health-bringing plants were broken up and preserved in spirits. People liked to acquire such medicine especially before a child was born; it was then poured into the infant's bath water and the mother drank a gulp of it. The effect of it depended on the magical power of the plants.

The Guajiro themselves used certain plants as medicine. Sometimes these really were effective, but often it was just a question of sorcery. A plant with much milky sap, for example, was laid on a mother's breast if her milk failed. The powers possessed by the mountain Indians of Sierra Nevada were attributed to the circumstance that they possessed the secret of invoking specially powerful spirits, whose essence also permeated the herbal medicines people got from them. The effect of the herbs thus came from the spirits residing in them. Intoxicating drinks acted through the spirits liberated in the process of fermentation; that was a common belief among the Indians.

The Guajiro believed in omens and portents. Various animals foretold misfortune or death. A wild cat wailing round the house at night, a bat that persisted in following one through the darkness, in certain circumstances also a snake beside the house, all portended trouble or sorrow. The Indians paid special attention to the behaviour of a number of birds and interpreted this as indicating the approach of visitors, the imminence of something unpleasant, etc. When they thought they had observed such a

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sea from the land and the planting of trees and animals to benefit man" /translated from the Spanish/. The original figure of Mareiwa is probably that of a culture-hero. Chaves (1953, p. 183) makes the same assumption, but adds that this personality is "at the present time like God for many mestizos" /translated from the Spanish/. Jahn (p. 183) declares "that the Spanish have identified /Maleiwa/ with the true God or Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. In Torrano (p. 188) one reads "Maréigua = God, Supreme Being" /translated from the Spanish/. Unfortunately even today it is still true that the "Goajiro religion is imperfectly known" /cited in English/ (Armstrong-Métraux, p. 382).

614 812 773 He was found as an infant, who grew rapidly like any Indian child. He ate tuuma (12) and dressed like the Guajiro.

[262]

12. It was identified for me as tuna, which is the fruit of the Opuntia (Indian fig) and very well-known in South America. Cf. Vegamian, p. 214.

The mother was an old woman; her hut stood in the north. The father, a certain Saramai, was also said to be a god. [824] [827] Because Mareiwa was born under an oil tree, this tree does

/537 cont./
not lose its green leaves, even in the dry season. The Indians seek shelter under its branches during storms, because lightning will not strike there.

/538/ Mareiwa created an Indian woman named Borunka; she became the mother of all the Guajiro people (13).

13. Chaves (1953, p. 181) reports another myth of the "Origen de los Guajiros," in which, however, the totem clans are not mentioned; therefore, no contradiction of the myth presented here can be brought forward from there.

He also gave her a companion, by whom she became pregnant. When the time of her delivery came, however, she felt incapable of giving birth. The pains lasted for three days without delivery. Her vagina was set with teeth. Mareiwa removed them. At the same time he took two ribs, the lowest one from each side, from her mate. He inserted them in Borunka so that she could later give birth without hindrance, though not without pain.

Since loss of blood was connected with delivery since then, Mareiwa summoned all the birds. He commanded the sangre de toro, or pincwait, to wash itself where the birth took place. He gave the same order to the troupials (weaver birds of the family Icteridae), as well as to the icó /ishu, Phoenicotraupis rubra/ with the black wings, whose breast feathers and head-tuft are red in color, and finally to the macaws. The woodpecker /Ceophloeus lineatus/ arrived late for this bath. Mareiwa said to him, "You came late, to be sure, but I shall paint your tuft anyway," and he painted it red. Thus, the birds mentioned have red spots in their plumage.

Borunka bore several children, and the Guajiro proceeded to multiply. When there were many of them, Mareiwa